

a petition..

to the United Nations
on behalf of 13 million
oppressed Negro citizens
of the
United States
of America



FOREWORD

For more than three centuries the Negro people have worked to build America into a great nation. We have fought to preserve the unity of our country within, and to defend it from enemies without. And when the fascist enemies of all mankind recently threatened to over-run the whole world, we joined hands with our countrymen and with freedom-loving peoples of other lands to crush the fascist monster and to lay the basis for a genuine "Parliament of Man," the United Nations.

Irony, indeed, is our "reward." Barred from most industrial and business employment on the spurious grounds of "race," bound to the soil in semi-feudal serfdom on the cotton plantations of the Deep South, forced to live in overcrowded slum ghettos in our great cities, denied any substantial education for millions of our children, lynched and terrorized, kept from effective use of the ballot in many states, segregated like pariahs, the more than 13,000,000 Negro Americans still suffer an oppression which is revolting to all the canons of civilized society.

It is with genuine anger and disgust that the Negro people, like all other friends of freedom, view the hypocrisy of our Government's professions to leadership in the promotion of "freedom and democracy" throughout the world. We are enraged at the knowledge that our American Secretary of State, Mr. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, subscribes to the same policies of anti-Negro oppression as did the late Herr Adolph Hitler, and as does the present Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi.

We have petitioned our own Government, time and again, for redress of grievance. This we will continue to do, for the main responsibility lies with the rulers of America.

We also call upon the United Nations, as we have every legal and moral right to do, to mobilize the influence of all organized mankind toward fulfillment, here in the United States, of the stated purpose of the United Nations to *promote and encourage "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."*

Thus it is that the Tenth Anniversary Convention of the National Negro Congress voted to address to the UN this "Petition to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations," and to append thereto the accompanying digest of "The Facts" on "The Oppression of the American Negro."

The formal presentation of these documents was made at Hunter College, New York City, on June 6, 1946, to representatives of the United Nations. Now it is up to the progressive citizens of our country, of all races and creeds, quickly to endorse and actively to support this "Petition."

MAX YERGAN

LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

I

Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General
United Nations
Hunter College
Bronx, New York
Dear Mr. Lie:

June 6, 1946

It is with an expression of profound regret that we, a section of the Negro people, having failed to find relief from oppression through constitutional appeal, find ourselves forced to bring this vital issue—which we have sought for almost a century since emancipation to solve within the boundary of our country—to the attention of this historic body—and to request that you, as Director-General, place it for consideration before the Economic and Social Council, or that body which, in your understanding, it may belong.

(s) Max Yergan, President
National Negro Congress
Revels Cayton, Executive Sec'y.
National Negro Congress

II

Honorable Harry S. Truman
The White House
Washington, D. C.
Dear Mr. President:

June 6, 1946

This is an historic moment in the life of the nation. Vast internal economic and social upheavals confront us. Added to those, the traditional pre-war policy of racial oppression carried out by powerful forces in this country is now being inhumanly reflected more than ever before.

The Negro people had hoped that out of the war there would come an extension of democratic rights and liberties so heroically fought for by all oppressed peoples.

Your administration, however, has reversed the democratic program of the Roosevelt government, both internally and in relation to foreign policy. Great burdens have been forced upon the shoulders of the Negro people.

Negro citizens find the present conditions intolerable, and are therefore, presenting their appeal to the highest court of mankind—the United Nations.

The National Negro Congress in Convention assembled feels impelled to send you the information which motivates this historic petition.

(s) Max Yergan, President
Revels Cayton, Executive Secretary

PETITION

To the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations

A PETITION on behalf of the Negro people of America by the National Negro Congress of the United States of America at its Tenth Anniversary Convention, held in the City of Detroit from May 30 to June 2, 1946, for the elimination of political, economic and social discrimination against Negroes in the United States of America.

I. The Subject Matter of the Petition

The National Negro Congress, the petitioner herein, is a national organization in the United States of America, within the definition set forth in Article 71, of the Charter of the United Nations.

The subject matter of this petition is concerned with the "protection of minorities" and the "prevention of discrimination on grounds of race," within the purview of the Report of the Preparatory Commission and the Report of the Committee on the Organization of the Economic and Social Council both cited hereinafter.

II. The Jurisdiction of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations

The basis and scope of the relation of the United Nations to the problem of racial oppression and the protection of minorities has been definitively stated in various official declarations and reports of the United Nations.

1. Reference: Preamble to Charter of the United Nations.
"We the people of the United Nations determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. . . ."
2. Reference: Article I, Sec. 3, Charter of the United Nations.
"The purposes of the United Nations are: To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

3. Reference: Article 13, Sec. 1 (b), Charter of the United Nations.

"The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of: promoting international cooperation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

4. Reference: Article 55, Sec. 1 (c), Charter of the United Nations.

"With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote: Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

5. Reference: Article 62, Sec. 2, Charter of the United Nations.
"It (The Economic and Social Council) may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all."

The medium through which the United Nations approaches the specific problem of racial oppression and protection of minorities is the Economic and Social Council. In turn, it is through the Commission on Human Rights, a specialized Commission of the Economic and Social Council, that the functions of the United Nations upon this subject are to be exercised. The basis for this delegation of function is provided in Article 68, in the Charter of the United Nations, which states:

"The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions."

Reference is further made to the Report of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, Chapter III, Sec. 4:

"Considerations and Recommendations Concerning the Organization of the Economic and Social Council:

15. Commission on Human Rights

In general the functions of the Commission would be to assist the Council to carry out its responsibility under the Charter to promote human rights. The studies and recommendations of the Commission would encourage the acceptance of higher standards in this field and help to check and eliminate discrimination and other abuses.

16. In particular the work of the Commission might be directed towards the following objects:

- a) formulation of an international bill of rights.
- b) formulation of recommendations for an international declaration or convention on such matters as civil liberties, status of women, freedom of information.
- c) protection of minorities.
- d) prevention of discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language or religion; and
- e) any matters within the field of human rights considered likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations.

17. Studies and recommendations would be made and information and other services provided at the request of the General Assembly, or of the Economic and Social Council, whether on its own initiative or at the request of the Security Council or of the Trusteeship Council."

Reference is further made to the Report of the Committee on the Organization of the Economic and Social Council which met in London during February 1946, and proposed the following resolution:

"Sec. A. The Economic and Social Council, being charged under the Charter with the responsibility of promoting universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and requiring advice and assistance to enable it to discharge this responsibility; establishes a Commission on Human Rights.

2. The work of the Commission shall be directed towards submitting proposals, recommendations and reports to the Council regarding:

- a) formulation of an international bill of rights.
- b) formulation of recommendations for an international declaration or convention on such matters as civil liberties, status of women, freedom of information.
- c) protection of minorities.
- d) prevention of discrimination on grounds of race, sex, language or religion.

3. The Commission shall make studies and recommendations and provide information and other services at the request of the Economic and Social Council.

The Charter of the United Nations further makes provision for direct consultation between the Economic and Social Council and non-governmental organizations in connection with its functions. Reference is made to Article 71, Charter of the United Nations:

"The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, *with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.*"

III. Proof in Support of the Petition

The evidence in support of this petition is set forth in full in the Document attached hereto and made a part hereof entitled, "The Oppression of the American Negro: The Facts," which conclusively establishes that a condition has existed throughout the United States of America during its entire history and prevails at this time, of the political, economic, and social discrimination against Negroes because of their race and color; resulting in the denial of equal democratic rights to 13,000,000 Negro citizens and requiring the consideration of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Wherefore, your petitioner respectfully prays that the Economic and Social Council through its Commission on Human Rights or otherwise:

1. Make such studies as it may deem necessary of the conditions herein described as they exist in the United States of America, pertaining to political, economic and social discrimination against Negroes because of their race and color.

2. Make such recommendations and take such other actions as it may deem proper with respect to the facts herein stated, to the end that "higher standards" in the field of human rights may be achieved in the United States of America and "discrimination and other abuses" on the grounds of race and color, may be "checked and eliminated."

3. Take such other and further steps as may seem just and proper to the end that the oppression of the American Negro be brought to an end.

Respectfully submitted,

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

by

DR. MAX YERGAN

President

REVELS CAYTON

*Executive Secretary for
the National Board*

The Oppression of the American Negro:

THE FACTS

(Prepared by Dr. Herbert Aptheker* for the Tenth Anniversary Convention of the National Negro Congress, Detroit, Michigan, May 30-June 2, 1946.)

In the United States of America there are over thirteen million human beings restricted to a second-class citizenship, and subjected to a brutal system of oppression and discrimination based upon the inhuman, unscientific, Fascist theory of "racism."

These statements shall be established by citing data obtained, in their entirety, directly from official publications of the United States Government.

Population:

The United States census of 1940 showed that of a total Negro population of 12,865,518, almost ten millions (9,904,619) lived in the South, 2,790,193 lived in the North, and 170,708 lived in the West.

A former Governor of South Carolina, and a member of the Senate of the United States for many years, Mr. Cole Blease, in speaking to his constituents, said:¹ "God made man the Negro to be your servant. The Negro was meant to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water." While this is blasphemous as to the Lord's intentions, it is accurate as to the intentions, *and accomplishments*, of the class for which Mr. Blease spoke.

Occupations:

The facts are that, in 1940, there were 4,479,069 Negro wage earners in the United States (1,542,273 of them women), and that the vast majority were "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Well over half (55%) were engaged in the two lowest paid and least protected of all occupations; that is, over one million (1,003,508) were domestic service workers, and almost one and a half

million (1,447,052) were agricultural workers. Another half million (522,229) were engaged in "other service" work, and still half a million more (464,195) were "operatives." This left a total of about 370,000 individuals to make up the manager, proprietor, professional and semi-professional, clerical, sales, foremen and craftsmen groups *combined*.²

In 1940, seven out of every ten employed Negroes were engaged in unskilled work, and 94 out of every 100 employed Negroes followed manual pursuits. The proportion of unskilled workers amongst the Negro people was 350% greater than amongst the whites!³ Of course, these same census reports demonstrate that Negroes can, and do, perform all the functions of modern civilization, from accountant to architect, from editor to engineer, from physician to physicist, from surgeon to psychologist. Science has demonstrated, without any question, that the idea of inferiority is a deliberately concocted myth, so that these data substantiate nothing but the wholesale oppression of a myriad of peoples.

And not only are they, as a people, largely confined to the poorest paying occupations, but within these occupations they are paid less than others. This may be proven not only by every-day observation, and by official statistics, but it is the overtly expressed program of the oppressors. Thus, for example, a publication of the University of Kentucky declared,⁴ in 1935: "An additional argument in favor of the salary differential between Negro and white teachers is the general tradition of the South that *Negroes and whites are not to be paid equivalent salaries for equivalent work*." (Italics added.)

Family Income:

The earnings of the Negro people mirror their subordinate occupational status. As has been shown, the occupation engaging the greatest number of Negroes is agricultural work, confined, almost entirely, to the South. The *family* income of rural-farm families with a farm laborer as head of the household equalled in 1939 (last year for which complete official figures are available⁵) \$363 for the entire United States and \$295 for the South. The respective figures for the white and the Negro in the South were \$337 as compared with \$254, and it may be added that over 40 per cent of these Negroes had a *total yearly family income of less than \$200*.

An official survey of the over-all family incomes of America (for 1935-36) disclosed that the average (medium) yearly income per family in the rural South (including not only money income, but also income in kind and the imputed value of housing) was, for whites, \$1,100 and for Negroes \$480, or 44% as high. In Southern

* Ph.D., Columbia U., Member American Historical Society.

cities the respective figures were \$1,570 and \$525, the Negro family thus obtaining one-third that of the white, while in North Central cities (population 100,000 and over) white families averaged \$1,720 and Negro, \$1,095.⁸ The meaning of these figures, in human terms, will be somewhat more apparent when it is realized that, as of March 1935, the cost of a WPA emergency budget for a manual worker with a wife and two young children in Columbia, South Carolina, was \$845, in Mobile, Alabama, \$815, in Atlanta, Georgia, \$911, and in Columbus, Ohio, \$940.⁷

As of 1940, two-thirds of the Negro families in the United States earned less than \$750 a year, and this was true notwithstanding the fact that about 2 in every 5 Negro women were in the labor force, in contrast to 2 in every 8 white women.⁸ Here, too, it is important to note that the government, itself, declared that a city family of three needed, in 1941, an income of \$1,475 "to cover current living expenditures," almost exactly *twice* that actually obtained by most of its urban Negro citizens!⁹

Housing:

These statistics represent, of course, food, homes, life and death. Official publications have summed up some of the facts in a few succinct lines and figures. Thus, for housing, we are told:¹⁰ "... most Negroes have been unable to rent or own decent, safe, and sanitary houses in which to live and bring up their children."

Figures will make this concrete. In the United States, in 1940, there were 3,293,406 dwelling units for Negroes. Of these over one million (1,082,128) "needed major repairs," and almost two million (1,908,100) had no running water. Over twice as many Negro homes as white (35.1% and 16.3%) needed majors repairs, and almost three times as many Negro homes as white (62% and 26.6%) had no running water. Twice as many white homes as Negro homes (82.9% and 43%) had electricity. All these figures are, of course, very much worse in the South, where the bulk of the Negro citizens live. Thus, to illustrate, it may be mentioned that *well over 70% of all Negro homes in that area have neither electricity nor running water.*¹¹

Health:

This oppression cripples and kills. Sickness, which incapacitates for a minimum of one week, is 40% more common to the Negro than to the white. In 1940, while 46 out of every 1,000 white children born alive did not live to reach their first birthdays, 85 Negro children died during the same period. And the proportion of deaths for children from one to four years of age is almost twice as high

for the Negro as for the white, while the maternal death rate is more than twice as high. Finally, while a white man could expect, in 1940, to reach almost 63 years, the Negro man's life expectancy was 52; and the figures for white and Negro women were 67 and 55 respectively. These figures, let this be perfectly clear, are "no more than a difference of mortality for different economic classes,"¹² they do not represent some innate "racial" characteristic. Moreover, as the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor showed, the infant mortality rate for Negro families whose fathers earned less than \$450 per year was practically the same (indeed, a little lower) than that for white families of a similar economic status.¹³

Education:

The attempted degradation of this entire people includes and is concentrated upon, unequal educational opportunities. This fact of undemocratic education may be demonstrated in dozens of different sets of official figures issued by all or some of those seventeen States where separate—Jim Crow—systems are required by law, and where the majority of the Negro people live.

The latest compilation coming from the United States Office of Education states:¹⁴ "Data for any given year show the wide differences which still exist in many States between educational opportunities for white and Negro children."

All phases and facets show this discrimination. Thus, for 1941-42, while the load per white teacher was about 28 pupils, it was 36 for the Negro teachers while the average number of days a white child attended school was 144, it was 128 for the Negro; the average annual salary for the instructional staff (including supervisors, principals, and teachers) in Alabama was \$923 for whites and \$458 for Negroes, in Arkansas \$740 and \$441, in Florida \$1,282 and \$671, in Georgia, \$961 and \$460, in Louisiana \$1,303 and \$547, in Mississippi \$712 and \$226, in South Carolina \$1,038 and \$465, in Virginia \$1,133 and \$765. The eleven Southern States that reported its expenditures on transporting Negro and white children to the schools spent a total of \$1,329,095 for Negroes, while the single State of Alabama spent \$1,994,018 to transport its white children. In this regard, South Carolina, whose Negro children number very nearly the same as the white children (212,630 and 262,580) spent \$1,222-226 for transporting the latter and \$6,691 for the former! Again, for "promotion of health" the State of Georgia spent \$30,426 on its white children and \$1,571 on its Negro children, though the latter equal well over half the former in total numbers.¹⁵ In terms of figures, one may summarize by stating that the level of support of the median classroom unit per year in the South for Negro schools equalled from \$400-\$499, and for white schools it equalled \$1,100-

\$1,199—and some people still prattle about “separate but equal” facilities!¹⁶

The tragedy behind these statistics was forcefully brought before the American people during the late war. The percentage of draft registrants deferred because of educational deficiency (illiteracy) from May 15 to September 14, 1941, was eleven times greater for Negroes than for whites! This was, of course, the result of the educational system provided for them, and of nothing else. Thus, within fifteen states the rejection rates for Negroes were lower than the total percentage rate of white rejections, and in *twenty-six Northern states, the rejection rates for Negroes were less than they were for the whites in ten of the Southern states.*¹⁷

This inequality of opportunity exists not only in elementary education, but also, and to an even greater degree, in higher education. This becomes crystal-clear when one realizes that, in 1940, the median school year completed by the Negro throughout the country was 5.7 while it was 8.4 for the white. Over 40% of the total Negro population, as of 1940, had been forced to complete no more than four years of formal education, as compared to 13% of the white population. The abominable situation has been summarized, officially, in this sentence;¹⁸ “There is a definite lack of availability of higher educational facilities for Negroes in those States maintaining separate schools.”

Other Public Services:

Privileges and rights, other than education, normally associated with full American citizenship, are likewise very largely denied the Negro. Thus, to quote again the summary remarks of a government publication¹⁹: “. . . in cities, paving, lighting, sewerage service and police protection often cease where the Negro residence section begins. . . . In many areas there is no hospital service of any kind available to Negroes, and the medical and nursing service is often wholly inadequate if not lacking altogether.” And, in many sections of the nation Negroes are “either excluded or permitted to occupy only some special section” so far as museums, art galleries, theatres, concert halls, public auditoriums, parks, gymnasiums, and swimming pools are concerned.

Library service for Negroes in the South (where, remember, over nine million Negroes live) is utterly insufficient. Thus, in 1939 there were in thirteen Southern States a total of 99 poorly equipped public libraries which served Negroes. This was less than one-seventh of all such institutions in the area, and meant that while 43% of the white people of the South are provided with public library service, but 21% of the Negroes have any such service.²⁰

Civil Liberties:

There is an unanimous agreement, by all observers and commentators, that fundamental legal rights, such as service on ordinary and grand juries, freedom from search and arrest except by warrant, and freedom from physical torture when in the hands of the law, are highly exceptional as concerns the vast majority of America's Negro citizens.²¹

Nor is there any disagreement as to the fact that, in violation of all law, the majority of these citizens are deprived, by subterfuge and force, of the vital right of the suffrage. This fact is openly and proudly announced by the successful politicians foisted upon the South and the nation by such an undemocratic system. Thus, to cite but one example, the present senior United States Senator from the State of Georgia, Walter F. George, wrote for publication, in 1938²²: “Why apologize or evade? We have been very careful to obey the letter of the Federal constitution—but we have been very diligent and astute in violating the spirit of such amendments and such statutes as would lead the Negro to believe himself the equal of the white man. And we shall continue to conduct ourselves in that way.”

This disfranchisement affects, as it is meant to, the poor-Negro and white—and its results are clear. To cite an outstanding example: in the last Presidential election (1944) only 27.9% of the entire potential electorate of the thirteen Southern States actually voted, while 61.9% of the potential electorate of the other thirty-five States exercised their suffrage. The figures for 1944 are arresting when one looks at the (then) eight poll-tax States for there (Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina) only 19% of the potential voters did vote! And remember, these percentages include both Negro and white people.²³

Peonage and Violence:

No survey of the oppression of the American Negro, unsavory though it be, may neglect two other basic phenomena—peonage and violence. Neither of these is, as yet, subject to precise statistical presentation, but that both are widespread is unquestionable, and each deserves full, thorough investigation by groups independent of the dominant Southern cliques.

Reports of the existence of peonage have appeared and reappeared in the American press for fifty years,²⁴ some of it creeps into recent government publications,²⁵ occasional indictments and even convictions of individuals suspected or guilty of the practice recur (there were seven Federal indictments and five convictions

for peonage, all involving Negroes, during the late war²⁶), eye-witness accounts appear in authentic studies,²⁷ and, in 1939, the Social Service Committee of the Georgia Baptist Convention, meeting in Augusta, declared²⁸ that there were more people then held in debt-slavery or peonage than had ever been chattel-slaves in America.

Agreement exists, too, that violence against Negroes is so common, particularly in the South, as to be institutionalized. Most publicized, of course, is the tactic of lynching, and while organized struggle against this bestial practice has undoubtedly reduced the frequency of its appearance, it still does occur and the threat of its use is very much alive.

Of greater importance, today, however, is the device of "dry lynching," the secret, unpublicized mutilation or destruction of an "undesirable" Negro by a small group of individuals (frequently, it is believed, officers of the law). From the nature of this device precise details and figures are not available, but it is significant that a study, in 1940, sponsored by four United States Congressmen, including Senators Wagner and Capper, by a "native white Southerner who must remain anonymous" states "that countless Negroes are lynched yearly, but their disappearance is shrouded in mystery, for they are dispatched quietly and without general knowledge."²⁹ Other recent works have offered substantiating remarks,³⁰ and this is certainly a type of barbarism that should be thoroughly investigated and absolutely extirpated.

Conclusion:

The effect upon the mental life of both the victims and the manipulators of this economic, social, political, and physical machine of oppression is only now beginning to be analyzed scientifically, but enough has already appeared to make clear the terrible urgency of the question.³¹

The cancer of racism has spread its poison throughout the life of America. Its throttling and killing effect upon the people of the entire nation—North and South, Negro and white—grows more fearful and more anachronistic with the passing of each hour.

The Negro people, for themselves, and for the benefit of all other inhabitants of America, demand full freedom and absolute equality. Nothing short of this will satisfy them. Where one is enslaved, all are in chains.

Notes

1. In 1913, quoted by Robert L. Jack, *History of the NAACP* (Boston, 1943) pp. 67, 68.
2. *Characteristics of the Non-White Population*, 16th Census, 1940 (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943), p. 47.
3. Alba M. Edwards, *Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United*

- States, 1870-1940* (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943), p. 188.
4. *Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service*, University of Kentucky, March 1945, p. 26.
5. Louis J. Ducoff, *Wages of Agricultural Labor in the United States*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Technical Bulletin No. 895 (Washington, July, 1945), p. 98.
6. *Consumer Incomes in the United States: Their distribution in 1935-36*, (National Resources Committee, U. S. Gov't Printing Office, Washington, 1943), p. 28.
7. M. S. Stecker, *Intercity Differences in Costs of Living*, March 1935, (Research Monograph XII, W. P. A. Washington, 1937), p. 172.
8. *Public Housing and the Negro*, (U. S. Public Housing Authority, Washington, 1941 (?), p. 1; A. M. Edwards, op. cit., p. 188: *Negro Women War Workers* (Bulletin No. 205, Women's Bureau, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, 1945) p. 1.
9. *Monthly Labor Review*, (1942), LXII, p. 1 (published in Washington by the Department of Labor).
10. *Public Housing and the Negro*, op. cit., p. 1.
11. *Housing*, Vol. II, Part I, 16th Census, 1940 (U. S. Gov't Printing Office, Washington, 1943), pp. 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25.
12. Figures and quotation are from F. E. Linder and R. D. Grove, *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States, 1900-1940*, 16th Census (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1943), pp. 12, 177, 179, 650.
13. See T. J. Woofert, Jr., *Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life* (N. Y., 1933, monograph in President's Committee on Recent Social Trends), p. 153.
14. D. T. Blose and H. F. Alves, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1939-40 and 1941-42* (U. S. Office of Education, Washington, 1944), p. 38.
15. All preceding data on education from source as in note 14.
16. J. K. Norton and E. S. Lawler, *An Inventory of Public School Expenditures in the United States* (mimeographed, American Council on Education, Washington, 1944) I p. 12.
17. L. B. Hershey, *Selective Service in Wartime*, First Report of the Director of Selective Service 1940-41, (U. S. Gov't. Printing Office, Washington, 1942) p. 402; *The Black and White of Rejections for Military Service* (American Teachers Association Studies, Montgomery, Ala., 1944), p. 2.
18. Ambrose, Caliver, *A Summary: National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes*, Misc. No. 6, Vol. IV (U. S. Office of Education, Washington, 1943).
19. I. C. Brown, *Socio-Economic Approach to Educational Problems*, Misc. No. 6, Vol. I (U. S. Office of Education, Washington, 1942) p. 43.
20. E. A. Gleason, *The Southern Negro and the Public Library*, (University of Chicago, 1941) pp. 90, 93.
21. For a recent authoritative summary, based on source material see Charles S. Mangum, Jr., *The Legal Status of the Negro* (University of North Carolina 1940) passim.
22. *Liberty Magazine*, April 21, 1938.
23. These facts are conveniently presented in *Voting Restrictions in 13 Southern States*, a report by the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South (Atlanta, 1945) (?), introduction.
24. See, for example, the citations in J. G. Van Deusen, *The Black Man in White America* (Washington, 1944) pp. 18-19.
25. L. J. Ducoff, op. cit., p. 24.
26. Florence Murray in *Social Forces* (1945) XIV, p. 213.
27. A. Davis, B. Gardner, M. Gardner, *Deep-South* (University of Chicago, 1941) pp. 337, 340-41, 351-53, 356-57, 392.
28. J. Gollomb, *What's Democracy to You?* (N. Y., 1940) p. 65; G. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (N. Y., 1944), II, p. 1242.
29. *Lynching Goes Underground* (n. p., 1940) sponsored by Senators Wagner and Capper and Representatives Fish and Gavagan. See Myrdal, op. cit., II 1350.
30. See C. S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (Washington, 1942) p. 5; J. D. Ames, *The Changing Character of Lynching* (Atlanta, 1942) p. 9;
31. See, for example, the six volumes of the "Negro Youth Survey" by Reid, Davis and Dollard, Frazier, Johnson, Walker, Junker and Adams. and Sutherland, published from 1940-44 in Washington by the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education.

How To Support the United Nations Petition

1. Secure endorsements from civic, church, business, fraternal, women and labor organizations, and from town and city governments, forwarding copies to the National Negro Congress (307 Lenox Avenue, New York 27, N. Y.).
2. Secure individual endorsements of the UN Petition on blanks which will be supplied by the NNC.
3. Organize a Negro People's Tribunal in your community to secure specific testimony on various phases or instances of discrimination, supplementing the evidence in the petition, as requested by the UN Secretariat. Help in organizing such hearings may be obtained from the Congress office.
4. Order additional copies of this pamphlet for distribution (5¢ each for single orders up to 24 copies; 4¢ each for 25 or more copies; 3¢ each for 500 or more copies).
5. Send a contribution to the NNC for the conduct of the UN Petition Campaign.

Write Today . . .

UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT
NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

307 Lenox Avenue
New York 27, New York

Attention: Dorothy K. Funn, Director

Kindly send me:

..... Official blanks for obtaining individual signatures on UN Petition.
(Each blank has space for 23 signatures)

..... Copies of the pamphlet, "A PETITION TO THE UNITED NATIONS..."
(Check or money order enclosed)

..... Further information on the organization of the Negro People's Tribunals,
to obtain current evidence in support of the UN Petition.

..... Information on membership in the National Negro Congress.

My contribution of \$ to the UN Petition Campaign is enclosed.

(Make all checks and money orders payable to the National Negro Congress)

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY ZONE STATE

Issued by the NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS, 307 Lenox Ave., New York 27, N. Y.

MAX YERGAN
President

C. LE BRON SIMMONS
Treasurer

REVELS CAYTON
Executive Secretary